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THE

MADRAS REVIEW

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COMMENTS

Pandit Malaviya's address to the students of the Benares University is a masterly exposition of the case against the withdrawal of students from schools. It is logical, well-reasoned and patriotic. It comes from the heart of a man who has worked hard for the good of the younger generation. If Mr. Gandhi will not give up this part of his propaganda, in deference to the sentiments of so eminent a leader, we are afraid that he will displease a large number of his supporters. No good purpose will be served by reducing the strength of the Non-Co-operation army. It will only give the enemy an advantage over us. Non-Co-operation has its good as well its evil side but persistence in pushing the latter tends to expose the weakness of the movement thus diminishing its strength and moral authority.

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The history of Indians outside India is so full of terrible misery and of heroic endurance that it is impossible to think of it without an unconscious tribute of tears. Some years ago, the civilized world rang with cries of denunciation at the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Subsequently, came the agonizing cries of afflicted Indians in Fiji. Now comes the most distressing news that the Government of East Africa have begun to segregate Indians. Mr. Andrews says that segregation means degradation. What is the code of morality which justifies this degradation of Indians in the eyes of the world? Is it not the arrogance of power, the realization that India is helpless to resist and the quiet confidence that Great Britain will support East Africa when the dispute goes there! We must say that, taking all in all, the Germans behaved much better towards their enemies during the late War than these Africans do towards the fellow citizens of the much-boasted Empire.

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We stated that the proposed modification of Article 1 of the Congress creed is in perfect accord with the spirit of the times. We are glad that both the Madras and the Andhra Provincial Congress Committees have voted in favour it. We have no doubt that an overwhelming majority of Congressmen in all parts of India will support the suggested modification. Mr. A. Rangasami Ayengar, a prominent member of the Nationalist party, has written a lengthy minute of dissent in this connection. In the course of his argument, he points out that the minds of the average masses of our countrymen are far from being made up on this question of British connection. But have the masses ever cared for the British connection? The educated men, who were the leaders of the Congress two decades ago, set the fashion of talking of the British connection and were making a fetish of it. Even now, the opposition to the change comes only from them and not from the masses. What the masses care for is peace and plenty in the land. It may be that their minds are not made up now but the moment they realize all the limitations which this connection involves, they will be the first to declare themselves against it. We suppose that the leaders of the Congress are the representatives of the masses as they have all along claimed themselves to be and if they accept the new creed there is an end of the matter.

* * *

Let us not be misunderstood. We are not against the British connection if that connection involves no degradation for us. As we have already pointed out, in previous issues, the manly and sensible course for India, at the present juncture, is to support the proposed modification of the Congress creed. It is the look-out of the British statesmen to remedy our grievances and to create in us a love for that connection. People do not thrust themselves in quarters where they are not cared for. At present, an Indian is not a

freeman either in his own country or anywhere in the British Empire. Well, we do not see anything glorious in this connection. Our point is that such connection must be on a level of perfect equality and on no other. It may be that we are offending many people by our frankness and that we are treading on dangerous grounds. Whatever it may be, in the present circumstances of the country and considering the attitude of our rulers, we shall be false to ourselves if we do not declare the faith that is in us. If the spirit of our rulers changes for the better, naturally our attitude will change.

* * *

There is much force in the contention of the Andhra Congress Committee that the meetings of the All-India Congress Committee should be held as far as possible by rotations in the various Provinces. Within recent years, no meeting of the All-India Committee has ever been held in Madras so much so that Madras members had to undertake very frequently tedious and expensive journeys. The result is that Madras is never fully represented at the Committee meetings. Some arrangement as is proposed has become necessary.

* * *

Two Englishmen from Bangalore, Messrs. H. A. Popley and G. E. Phillips have replied to Mr. Gandhi's famous letter addressed to every Englishman in India. The general tone and spirit of the reply, we appreciate, though we differ from some points discussed in it. These Englishmen confess that in so far as the British Empire stands for "the domination and exploitation of other races for Britain's benefit, for degrading treatment of any, for repressive legislation, for administration such as led to the Amritsar incidents they desire the end of it as much as Mr. Gandhi." But are we wrong in saying that in India, it is only this aspect that is more predominant than the nobler side of the British policy? In these days of Dyer memorials, we are glad that these gentlemen have the goodness to repent of the arrogant attitude to Indians and that they hold Indians to be brothers and equals, many of them their superiors. If the European community in India is pervaded by this spirit, the Non-Co-operation movement would never have come into existence. Although these pious expressions from some persons not in official power may not carry as far, still we draw attention to them to mark our friendliness with those who are prepared to dissociate themselves from the present policy of the Government.

* * *

Colonel Wedgwood, M. P., who is on a visit to India to study Indian conditions, has been delivering exceedingly useful lectures in Bombay and Lahore. It has been suggested that this gentleman's visit has been undertaken with a purpose and that is, to wean people from the Non-Co-operation movement. When opinions among leaders of India differ so violently on the programme of Non-Co-operation, it is unfair to criticise Col. Wedgwood because he differs from it. A Non-Co-operator is not a hater of Englishman. Nor is he so imprudent as to refuse an Englishman's help for his country in other ways, if such a help were forthcoming, because he happens to differ from a particular policy. Col. Wedgwood has consistently and persistently championed the cause of India in Parliament, not certainly in anticipation of favours to come, but as a man who loved justice and liberty. Assuredly, the world cannot go on if we begin to attribute motives to all those from whom we differ.

* * *

Writing in this connexion we must say that we have received some letters from friendly correspondents charging us with partiality towards the *Hindu* because we dare not criticise the policy of silence which that great newspaper has imposed upon itself at this crisis. To this we have only one answer. The *Hindu* has not, since its birth, pandered to the official taste to the neglect of the people's cause. If in the judgment of Mr. Kasturiranga Ayengar a policy of silence is the right one to adopt now we have no doubt that it must have sprung from a genuine love of country. But, we suppose everybody knows that Mr. Iyengar is a Non-Co-operator.

* * *

Mr. B. G. Horniman, the talented journalist who was the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* writes the following letter to Mr. Gandhi:—"I am overjoyed at the decision of the special Congress. I feel sure it is right and I feel sure also that by concentious performance of your programme India will, by her own efforts, achieve freedom. My only regret is that I am not there to help; there is so little that can be done here. I hope I shall be able to return soon." The firmness of Mr. Horniman is in glaring contrast to the weakness of some well-known leaders.

* * *

From the accounts published in the papers, it appears that the boycott of Councils has succeeded to a considerable extent in Bombay. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, though supposed to be elected, have no moral authority behind them to represent the voters. In Poona it is stated that only 15 per cent. of the voters exercised their rights. This is a decided victory for the Non-Co-operationists. In Bombay, very little was the enthusiasm. But Madras presents exciting novelties. All through the City, in the theatres, cinemas, restaurants one meets with posters of candidates who stand for elections. Snakes and revolvers add to the liveliness of the election meetings. Already, there is a martyr among them. While these George Washingtons are doing thus, the Non-Co-operation party headed by Mr. Rajagopalachariar are working hard among voters to boycott the Councils. But for the Brahman non-Brahman controversy, the result could be predicted now. We shall see how things stand on the 30th November which is the election day.

* * *

The Madras Provincial Congress Committee threw out by a majority the proposal to restrict the number of delegates to the Congress. We are glad that some of the speakers urged the same objections which were pointed out in these columns some time ago. Delegates do not gain more representative character simply because the rule allots one man for every lac of population. The point is that it is the Congress Committees that will still be the electorates. And there are not many men in these Committees. Another difficulty is that several districts may not send any delegates at all. One

amendment was moved that the delegates from other districts may be alloted to the Districts wherefrom no delegates come. But this is more on less what happens now and it cannot be called election. If the Congress must be made more representative, the basis of the electorate must be broadened. Anyhow, it is necessary that the maximum number must be fixed but a better method of doing this must be devised. We shall write on this point in our next issue.

* * *

So many names have been suggested for the Viceroyalty of India but no authoritative announcement has so for been issued. We are reliably informed that Mr. Horatio Bottomley has the best chance but he refuses to accept the post unless Lord Sydenham becomes the Secretary of State and Mr. T. E. Welby the Under-Secretary. The matter has been referred to Lord Milner.

* * *

An Andhra contemporary has circulated a story about Mr. Vijayaragavachariar's bad treatment of Mrs. Besant at the Amritsar Congress. *New India* has reproduced this story so for only twice. To our knowledge, at least 30 newspapers have written in praise of the qualities of Mr. Achariar. If *New India* reproduces the story 28 times more, it will be something which we can admire.

* * *

CENOTAPH DAY AND ITS LESSON.

Reuter says that enormous crowds assembled in London to witness the funeral cortege of the unknown warrior to Westminster Abbey and the scenes of solemnity and reverence were described as never-to-be forgotten. It is also stated that no such honours were ever paid as those which were offered to the unknown dead and that no greater hour will come in any land. It must have been and will be a great day in the history of England. Princes and Divines, Field Marshals and Admirals, Ministers an d the Common people were all moved by a deep and overpowering emotion before the Cenotaph which represented the man who really won the war. The eloquent messages which were received from the different parts of England's far-flung Empire are all very stirring and ennobling reading. We are deeply touched at the most impressive and eloquent tributes which were paid to the glorious dead. The unknown warrior represented the spirits of millions of heroes who cheerfully gave up their lives that their country may be free, that the world may be free and that mankind may be freed from the constant dread of wars. These heroes were fighting the cause of freedom and liberty, the cause of weaker nations against the stonger that the former may be redeemed from tyranny and bondage. They died that the world may be freed from oppression and that the monsters of militarism capitalism and "exploitationism" may no longer rear their heads under the mask of Mandates. If such a solemn hour had a chastening influence on all those that took part in the ceremony at London, we could have wished for nothing better. It would have purified their souls considerably.

But have the objects for which so many millions of heroes sacrificed their lives been fulfilled? Has one nation ceased to bite the throat of another? Have mankind been freed from the dread of all wars? Have all the weaker nations been made safe against the iniquities of the stronger? Anybody who watches closely the events obtaining in various countries will assert that the object of the great sacrifice has not been fulfilled. The Militarist and the Capitalist the arrogant exploiter and the soulless beauracrat continue to play their pranks. Let us look round the world and take a survey of things. Take the case Ireland. Every gust of popular passion for liberty is met by merciless repression. Consequently, we see there murders and outrages--an eloquent testimony to the bankruptcy of statesmanship. History will record no greater blot against England than the manner in which McSwiney was compelled to meet his death. We are willing to realise that British statesmen are endeavouring to do their best to solve the Irish problem. But nothing has been finally donethough thousands of Irishmen lost their lives for the sake of freedom and for the safety of the Empire. Soul-less, meat-less Austria is lying prostrate. Germany is struggling to overcome the economic menace which the war has left in its train. Poor, unhappy Russia is torn into factions and there is nothing but disorder and chaos in that land. Turkey has been deprived of most of her territories to the infinite sorrow of the Muslim world. America is slowly emerging from the benumbeing effect of her too lofty idealism and it is difficult to speculate what influence she will exercise in the shaping of the world's future. Practically, the whole of Europe is unsettled.

Regarding the situation in India we need hardly say much. India has taken part, a glorious part in the winning of the war. Was ever the feeling between the rulers and the ruled so strained as it is to-day? The great and enthusiastic loyalty of the people of India on the outbreak of the war has turned into sullen resentment. There is no longer any mutual confidence between the rulers and the ruled. Denied the rights of a free citizen, Indians have grown desperate. The Non-Co-operation movement is a protest against the doctrine of despotism which obtains in the land. To the various unhappy causes which have been responsible for the present tension, we shall not attempt to refer. They are known to all. Our point is that the spirit of freedom has not influenced, to any appreciable degree, any action of our rulers after the close of the great war. It would be more correct to say that the situation in India is worse after the war. O'Dyerism, Dyerism and Smithism, be it remembered, played their pranks after the great War for liberty. The Rowlatt Act was enacted after the great War. In fact, freedom in this country has narrowed down from precedent to precedent a curious anamoly. When we realise all these, can we honestly say that those great warriors have not died in vain? Before a common danger, there was a feeling of unity. The spirit of self-sacrifice, of comradeship, of brotherhood, the flaming spirit of courage, of chivalry, of honour which were renovated and purified in the furnace of common suffering have all disappeared with the dawn of peace. Class wars, caste wars and race wars have begun and are being vigorously conducted. This is an age of reaction. Chivalry has given place to arrogance. Disputes about trade and territory are everywhere and the world has not learned the lessons of the war properly.

The situation threatens another great war in which Asia may find herself against Europe, the black races against the whites. We sincerely hope that our prophecy is mistaken and that our picture is very pessimistic.

Would that English statesmen had looked around and at the solemn hour of the Armistice day vowed that as long as it lay in their power they would strive to be true to the heroes whose death they mourned. Is it not rank hypocrisy to pay homage to the Cortege which represented the man who really won the war and then turn a deaf ear to the voices of those who ask for nothing better than the freedom for which that War was ostensibly fought? Those English Ministers who deposited wreaths at the foot of the Cenotaph were doing the act with unclean hands and hearts because they have done nothing tangible to satisfy the Divine discontent in this land, a discontent which is the natural outcome of the denial of our birthright. We bow, in humble reverence, before the Cenotaph which represents the noblest and the greatest sacrifices known in history and we pray that the spirit radiating from it may influence the hearts of our rulers to deal with us in a nobler, manlier, and purer way.

THE INDIAN STATES.

POPULAR MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL RELATIONS.

BY MR. S. RAMANATHA AIYER F.S. SC. (LOND) M.R.A.S.

II.

Sir Bampfyde Fuller likens the map of India to an ancient tessellated pavement the greater part of which has been replaced by slabs of uncoloured stone-work and marks off the coloured tesseræ as representing the Indian states of to-day. At the period when the entire ancient mosaic was made up of coloured slabs as representing the indigenous states of old, one of the peculiar features of the political constitution was the presence and power of popular assemblies. The Assembly of the "Six Hundred" referred to in my last as being influential in effecting a great charter of popular rights in Travancore was a fundamental factor of the Chera hegemony. Even in the comparatively small state of Cochin which then formed part and parcel of the Chera empire, the influence of the Assembly asserted itself so late as the 18th century as is evident from the vivid description of it given in "Letters from Malabar" by Rev. Cantes Vischer, the Chaplain of Cochin during the days of Dutch domination in that dominion. As collateral off-shoots of this *Pan*—Chera Assembly were grades of associations known as *yogams*, such as the *Karayogams* or village associations; *Desayogams* or district associations; and general associations for the *nad* as a whole. The *Nad* was the territorial organizations of the Nairs and included among others Yernad (Calicut; Nedumpurayanad) (Palghat;) Perumpadappu Nad (Cochin;) Venad (Travancore). The *Nad* was ruled by a military chieftain often a member of the Royal House. He was named *Naduvazhi* who had at least a battalion of a 100 Nairs under him. He was subject to the King of the country and had to pay a certain annual tribute in addition to men and materials in times of war. These chieftainships to which Mr. Logan refers in his "Malabar Manual" are attested by the system of *Tharavad*, the rule of *Karanavans* and the institution of *Kaleri* or schools for military training in archery and swordsmanship which prevailed universally in Malabar at the time. The system of Kaleri even now survives in scattered nooks and corners of the Court. Side by side with the Nayar organization by *Thara*, existed the organization of the Nambudiris by *gramams* or villages. The sixty-four gramams into which they had organized themselves exercised a democratic influence and introduced a system of oligarchy in which the village associations became well-constituted bodies acting as buffer between the people and the Government. The Namburi oligarchy divided the lands into *Desams* (cantons) and erected akshatram (temple) in each; established on the basis of the Thara (the unit of early Nayar organisation) the system of *Janmam* and *Kanam* with its special features of *Adimaor* (labour) and *Kudima* (husbandry in relation to the *Thara* (land) and Tharavattukar (tribe) Of the sixty four villages into which the land of the Chera had been thus divided, four were chosen and authorized to send delegates to represent and act for the whole. Chengannur in Travancore was one of them so selected for the purpose of election—that the Chengannur records show Edamanai Pandaraththil had territorial control and that his writs concluded with *desathipathi* (chieftain of the place.) In Wilson's Mackenze collection, the organization of oligarchy is thus described:—"When the 64 *gramams* and 21 *desams* were established, the 64 gramams assembled and ordained or fixed that a *Raksha purasha* should be elected once in three years in order to punish and protect. There were appointed *Nal kalakams* or four courts or assemblies at Panniur, Paravoor, Chengannur and Perinchelloor." Communal representation which forms a rallying point for contending factions at the present time was a particular feature of the old organisation. For, we find that "besides the said four *kalakams* were four *varna kulakams* or assemblies of the representatives of the four castes. The seats of these communal delegates were Iringulukodai for Brahmans; Mulykolam for Kshatriyas; Paravoor for Vysias; and Iranikulam for Sudras.

Election and lot too were not unknown. The *avarotha Kalakams* were electing assemblies which determined, "in order that nothing might obstruct or interrupt the daily business on that account should have a house or hamlet in the village of Kodungallur which was the seat of Government" and kept two *Thalayadiris*, one for the *Nithyathali* (or chief house) and the other for *Keeze thali* (or the subordinate houses.

It is noteworthy that only 10½ villages out of the 64, took the *Samayam* (oath) and accepted weapons to protect the *vritti* (rites,) and on this account their 10½ villages including Paravoor of Ethumanoor in Travancore were denominated "*Kalakathibellavar*" (those belonging to *Kalakam*). The armed rule of the Brahmins did not work well and it was at that juncture, that a rule of elected protectors selected from the 4 representative villages came to pass. This too did not satisfy the people, till at last the Assembly met and resolved in the historic meeting at Thirunavai to choose a Royal

Viceroy and the choice fell on the Chera representative. This event took place in the *Kali era* indicated by the Chronogram "*Bhuman Chupoyam Prapza*" which when interpreted according to the accepted system of calculations reads the 3317th year of *Kali*, corresponding to 216 A. D. About 200 years later, we alight upon the succession of the Northern groups of gramars from the South. This was about the time of the Chola invasion of a great part of Southern India as mentioned by Logan in his "Malabar Manual." Bhutha Pandi, a village in Travancore was the place, where the Chola army was defeated by the Chera King and it marked the Southern boundary of the Chera dominion, the vestiges of the village associations were found visible even so late as the 18th century. In 1702 A. D. the discontent of the people developed into open revolt and these associations met at 'Asramam" (1718), at "Esanimangalam" (1716) "Kadukkarai" (1722), and at Vadaseri, (1723) and passed resolutions distinctly avowing to take the life of any man who had acted against the interests of the people therein assembled. The Mudaliar archives prove further that the people themselves more than once "abandoned their homes and took to the neighbouring hills refusing to return to their villages unless the King promised to redress their grievances." Even service under the King was declared treason against the Commonwealth of Nanjanad which was the nucleus round which the State of Travancore had formed and founded its modern limits.

The political constitution of the Cheras was only a phototype of the principle followed by the other Indian satraps of the South such as the Pallavas, ruling over Chingleput, North and South Arcot; the Cholas, over Tanjore and Trichy; the Kangas over Coimbatore and Salem; the Pandayas over Madura and Tinnevelly; the western Challukyas over South Mysore; and the Rakshtra Kutas over North Mysore. These Southern States clung with the tenacity of the convert to the Aryan democratic ideals superimposed on them.

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES.

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. C. F. ANDREWS.

Q—What are your views about the way in which the voluntary repatriation scheme is being carried out by the South African Government?

A.—I have been utterly disappointed by the news which has reached me by cablegram and by letter. It appears that Mr. Wynne-Cole has gone far beyond the bound of distributing information to the depressed class of Indian labourers who may not know the Government's offer of a free passage. He went so far as to suggest a boycott of Indian traders by Europeans in order to drive them out of the country. He spoke in very ominous words about the determination of the South African Government to carry through the repatriation policy without surrender. All this implies pressure and makes the term 'voluntary' when applied to such a scheme, quite absurd and unmeaning. I greatly regret that I did not see at the time the political advantage which would be taken of even the slightest concession. I cannot help but think that Sir Benjamin Robertson, if he is reported correctly, has gone far beyond the limits of his mission. He seems from the report to have urged Indians generally to repatriate themselves. He does not seem to have confined his remarks to the submerged class only. But possibly the report of his words may have done him injustice.

Q.—Can you tell us anything of the recent Indian troubles in New Zealand?

A.—I spent sometime in New Zealand on my Fiji journeys and met prominent Indians there. At that time, between 1915 and 1918, there was absolutely no trouble in New Zealand whatever. Those Indians whom I met were remarkably contented and happy. They were treated by the law on an equality with Europeans, and their children went to the State schools side by side with European children. They had the franchise, and some whom I met were actually admitted to the European Labour Unions. I found, in Fiji, Sikhs and others who were studying elementary English, in order to pass the simple language test which was the only test for admission into New Zealand in the case of British Indian subjects. But since the War has ended, I have had continual letters and reports about the change of attitude. Evidently an anti-Asiatic agitation has begun, and in some places it has been carried on with virulence. The cry has been raised that New Zealand will be flooded with Indian exindentured labourers. The immorality of the coolie-lines' in Fiji has been glaringly depicted. The facts of the immorality in the past cannot be denied; but it is quite untrue to say that indentured Indians themselves are to blame for these facts. New Zealand herself has had cheap sugar, all through the War and since the War, almost entirely through Indian labour. Hardly a voice has been raised in New Zealand against the employment of such labour. New Zealand has become the Head-quartes of the new branch of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, called the Maori and Fiji Sugar Company. Thus New Zealand has shared in the profits. It cannot turn round and repudiate the consequences of its own actions. I greatly fear that owing to the new agitation, anti-Asiatic legislation will be framed. It is most painful to me to read that in the recent Fiji disturbances New Zealand troops were dispatched with haste to intimidate the Indian labourers.

Q.—What do you think about the statement of the Fiji deputation published in the Fiji papers, that the Government of India have given them a written document promising the resumption of emigration if the official commission to Fiji approved it?

A.—I regard this, if it is true, as a direct breach of the pledge given by the Indian Government that this question would be left to the Indian people themselves to settle. Mr. Marjoribanks is described in the Fiji papers as the chairman chosen for this new deputation. I spent a good deal of time going over the same ground as that covered by Mr. Marjoribanks' report. It was an able report, but it showed very little consideration for the labourer's point of view and very little knowledge of the exact hardships from which the labourers were suffering. There was every indication that the author had not come into close and intimate contact with

the labourers themselves, but had taken, for the most part, his facts from official records only. Mr. Marjoribanks knows the Tamil country but I doubt if he has had much experience of the United Provinces. As the Fiji Indian labourers are mainly Hindustanis, it is very unlikely that he will be able to get into close touch with them. They are also certain to shun him because of his official capacity. For all these reasons, he does not seem, as a chairman, to be likely to represent the Indian people. He is much more likely to represent the Government point of view. We do not know who are likely to accompany him, but if the Indians on the commission adopted the attitude which Lala Chimanlal obviously adopted on the previous commission, that is to say, if they merely echo the chairman, then the new commission will in no way represent the very deep feeling of the Indian *people*. If the Government of India has really given a written pledge to the Fiji Planters, that if the Commission report is favourable recruiting will be restarted, I feel that a grave wrong has been done and that this written statement must be recalled as quickly as possible.

Q.—What do you think about the resumption of emigration to British Guiana?

A.—I do not think that the resumption of recruited labour is advisable anywhere under any circumstances at present where the distance from India prohibits an easy passage to and fro. I am afraid, even in British Guiana, which has a much better record than Fiji, the real desire, below the surface, is merely the exploitation of cheap Indian labour, and not the single intention to find colonists and settlers for an unoccupied country. What appears to me to reveal the true facts is the mortality rate owing to Malaria fever. British Guiana appears to be one of the worst place in the world for Malaria; and the Indian population has not been able to escape this deadly disease. I see from a leading article in the *Statesman* of 17th June, 1920, that outof 72, 000 persons employed on the sugar estates from 12,000 to 25,000 have to be treated in hospital every year, in addition to those who are too ill to work, but not sufficiently ill to go to the hospital. In the more remote villages the conditions are worse; out of 96 deaths in a village in a year, 30 have been due to Malaria. The Liverpool Tropical School of medicine calls attention to these figures.

Q.—What steps do you suggest for the solution of the problems of East African Indins?

A.—This is the most difficult question of all, because the position of the Government of East Africa is not yet finally settled, even though Lord Milner has made his declaration. We must not foreget that Lord Curzon made a declaration concerning Egypt only nine months ago which has now been entirely reversed. He stated that on no consideration would independence be given. Lord Milner now states that independence *shall* be given, thus entirely reversing Lord Curzon's declaration. Up to the present the Indian Government has been absolutely firm in its demand for equal Indian status, but no declaration has been made by the Indian Government since Lord Milners's pronouncement, which clearly indicates what final action they are ready to take. With regard to Indians in East Africa, there will almost certainly be a refusal to sit on councils in an inferior position, but this will not rectify the injustice with regard to land purchase and race segregation. I am still daily thinking out this problem, and I hope it may be possible for me at some future time to make a more definite statement about it. "*Young India.*"

LAWRENCE HOPE.

(Mrs. Violet Nicholson).

An Anglo-Indian Poetess.

By Mr. E. S. SUNDA B. A.

Two important poetesses figure prominently in the *Pre-Bellum* Epoch of Anglo-Indian Literature. The more practical Miss. Leslie does not share with L. Hope the intense grasp of the sensitive nature in man. To her life is a matter of course.

> Life is a white and silver basket, void,
> Of fruits and flowers, man's earthly work it is
> To gather all the richest flowers of time
> And all the sweetest, ripest, summer fruits,
> And fill the basket ere his days, are over.

L. Hope is emotional and responsive to the slightest move in the lover's heart. As the author of the *Garden of Kama*, *Stars of the Desert* and *Songs of Indian Love*, she has created a definite place for Indian love in English Literature. Of all poets in Anglo-Indian literature, it was given only to Violet Nicholson to pry into the inner life of the Indian and portray his domestic character. The indiscreet charge that she is love—struck, and unrestrained in expression receives a remarkable blow in the poem *verses*. It is typical of the characteristic Indian love, a woman's sacrifice at the altar of her lord's affection, the conception of the husband as the domestic God and the great philosophic oneness in life.

> *You are my God* and I would fain adore thee
> with sweet and secret rites of other days.
> Burn scented oil in silver lamps before you.

Zira in Captivity, *Story of Lilavanti*, *His Rubies Told by Lal Govind* are three striking verse-tales in the *Garden of Kama*. Lilavanti is an exact representation of the Indian girl. In moments of distress, this type of the woman's mind is prepared to suffer the fate or court suicide as the final delivery from the bonds of misplaced love. To take up an aggressive attitude or to assume the Browningian optimism 'that all is well in the world' is not in her nature. The story of Lilavanti is one of the most tragic pisodes; though slightly non-Indian in details, it is Indian in conclusion. Married to a leper husband, fleeing from him to get a better partner cholera taking him away, her despair of a real friend in life, drowning herself in a well are some of the striking marks which excite our intense sorrow. The finishing touch of the poetess is too pathetic.

> And yet, how short when all is said.
> This little life of love and tears.
> Her age they say beside her bed!
> To day is only fifteen years.

In this Romantic ideal of literature, she shares the glory with another Keatsian in the roll of Anglo Indian poets of the pre-mutiny times. Henry. L. V. Derozio, ordinarily called the *Eurasian Poet* displays greater delicacy of feeling and

fondness for details than Violet. Nubeni the heroine in the *Fakir of Tungheera* suffers a worse fate, she commits suicide with her second lover. As she claps the Fakir round

> Her lips still parted by sweet breath as if she dreamed.
> Of him in her embrace, but they who thought
> That life was tenanting her breast and sought
> Some answer from her heart to trust the doubt
> Found that its eloquence had all burned out.

In the Girl from Baltistan is remarkable for the hit against the craze of remarriage. We, who remarry a thousand times, in a thousand ways, in a thousand climes, remain unsatisfied still. Is man's ideal a sheer procreation, is it his only immortality? Lawrence Hope could not contain her hatred.

> What were the use, the gain to us or it,
> That we should cause another *you* or *I*
> Another life from our light passion lit
> To sugger like overselves awile and die
> What aim, what end indeed, *our being runs*
> In a closed circle.

In the right eastern spirit, Hope imagines of love after death. 'And after death, through the long To Be which I think must surely keep Love's law, I, should you chance to have need of me, am ever and always only yours.!

Her second volume '*Stars of the desert*' shows a remarkable evolution in the idea of love. It is imagined as Deity punishing disappointing lovers.

> The transient sorrow you cause me now
> Will fade away in the distance dim
> But *Love is a god* and I wonder how
> You will make you peace with him.

In the water palace and Sea Pink the attempt of love to express itself in the arms of a truant King in one case, and in the second, ending in death for want of expression is most finely conceived in Keats's Isbellian model. One does not generally find the tone of self abnegation in L. Hope's heroines though the Indian life offers her any number of instances.

Indian Love, the third volume of her poems exhibits a remarkable restraint in expression and polish in language. Love here is more unselfish and *practically* idealistic. Man gets fame, suffers the stress and the thrust of the sword but woman gets the man for herself as reward.

You give yourselves, for our reward.

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The *Philosophy of Morning, Lalla Radha*, and *Colours* show the remarkable potentialities for dramatic expression in the poet.

L. Hope's position in the gallery of Anglo Indian poets' it is difficult to determine. Her sphere has been exclusively one of Indian love,—what G. Elist calls the 'tragedy of the human soul!. In the successful handling of human emotions, she is par excellence the best Keatsian in the realm of Anglo Indian Literature. Her passionate expression of Indian love in the best of harmony and fulness bordering on voluptuousness is itself a quality to attract interest. The colour of the Orient coupled with the Eastern domestic note is an additional charm of the poems. Cordial relations among nations can only be achieved by the growth of a literature breathing equality and friendship

> Sunset smiles on sunrise, east and west are one.
> Face to face in heaven before the sovereign sun.
>
> —(Swinburne)

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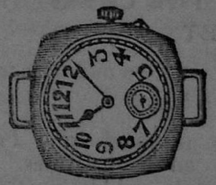

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